

THE LABOUR ORGANISER

No. 44

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Price 4d.

OUT OF THE RUT

IDEAS AND ACTIVITIES IN BRIEF

An excellent scheme for the collection of Individual Members contributions was adopted at Maidstone on the suggestion of Mr. F. Organ, the agent, who by-the-by has now transferred to the Wrekin Division as full time Agent, and adopted the same scheme. The method of collection, which, of course, is not actually novel, is that known as the envelope system. A number of collectors are appointed and these are supplied with a quantity of seed or wage bags according to the number of persons from whom they are expected to collect. Each individual member bears a number and the envelopes are numbered accordingly. Every member is called upon by a collector each month and is expected to place his or her contribution in the envelope. When the collector calls the previous month's envelope is taken and a new one left in its place. The member may give any sum and, of course, the sum varies from month to month. In lots of cases a small item is religiously put into the bag each pay-day and then left till the collector calls, and money finds its way into the bag in divers ways, or on divers impulses. In few cases is it found that nothing at all has been put in, a matter, however, which can be remedied when the collector calls. By this means regular contact is kept up with every member. The latter receives an official acknowledgment every quarter of the amount received during the previous three months. As showing how successful this scheme can be made it has produced at Maidstone an income of about £10 per month averaging a period of several months. It has therefore proved itself a practical and profitable scheme of collection, and we should like to hear of other Parties adopting the same.

Labour Party Agents in and around London are to be congratulated upon an excellent list of suggested subjects for discussion which have been produced by the joint efforts of the energetic Secretary, Ald. Richard Montford,

J.P., and the Chairman, Mr. W. Stuart Rainbird, to whose originality several items may be traced. The subjects named are to be taken at the usual monthly meetings of the London and Near Counties Agents, and they certainly will whet the appetites of other interested persons who would probably like to attend. The list just circulated is as follows:—

- 1.—Telling the Tale in Print.
- 2.—Novel Social Functions.
- 3.—Artistic and Economical Methods of Fitting up Bazaars.
- 4.—Securing the adherence of the New 21-30 Women Electors.
- 5.—Practical Methods of making New Members.
- 6.—Keeping New Members Interested.
- 7.—Ward Organisation—with special regard to Sub-Division of Functions.
- 8.—Petty Cash Systems at Parliamentary Elections.
- 9.—Staffing Arrangements at Parliamentary Elections.
- 10.—Canvassing Systems.

In another column will be found the advertisement of Messrs. Jordison & Co., some of whose excellent work we have been privileged to see and can heartily recommend. We have before us, for instance, an excellent portrait of the Prime Minister, which has been done for Mr. J. Beilby, the Labour Agent at Middlesbrough, and the production is a very striking [and for the Middlesbrough Labour Party a probably profitable] undertaking. Any photograph may, of course, be produced and Election Agents, who constantly find the necessity for publishing the photographs of their candidates should make enquiries of Messrs. Jordison as to the price of same. Such prices as we have noted are particularly reasonable, and a line to Middlesbrough would produce samples and quotations as desired.

The sale of the Labour Party badge continues to boom, and as a matter of

fact the demand has exceeded the supply for some time. The badge has been much in evidence this year at demonstrations and outdoor functions of all kinds.

A new departure was made by the "Labour Woman" this month in issuing a coloured poster designed by Mr. Spencer Pryse, the famous artist and lithographer. The drawing is a simple representation of mother and child, and its grace and beauty are such that possessors of same will want to preserve it. The reproduction of the drawing in black and white on this month's cover of the "Labour Woman" adds an attraction that should materially increase the sales.

The annual report of the Secretary to the Woolwich Labour Party's Women's Section is a most interesting and instructive document, and may readily be taken as a model for other sections. The number of women members was 1,334, a nett increase of 337. There is an actual attendance of between 90 and 100 practically every week, and if one therefore makes allowance for the number of women who can only occasionally attend it will be seen that a very fair percentage of membership take a real interest in the work. The Woolwich Women's Section is known for the persistence of its educational work, as also for its success on the social side. One interesting feature which we note is the mention that more and more women members are attending their ward meetings, and so mingling their points of view with the men members of the Party. This is an excellent sign and is an object that should be aimed at in every constituency.

The work of the London Labour Party vans, formerly the Clarion vans, is now in full swing, and much good is resulting to the London Labour Movement. Tours have been fixed up running to a late date in September, and this alone we imagine has entailed a considerable amount of labour. The District Organiser for London, Mr. R. Windle, is to be congratulated upon this work, and also upon the zeal and enterprise displayed by him which resulted in these two vans being secured for Labour. The vans have been repainted for the present year, and a

panel of speakers has been prepared, resulting in much greater efficiency regarding the staffing of the platform. The vans are lent to Local Parties free of charge, and speakers provided on the sole conditions that the Local Party undertakes the organisation of the meetings, the provision of chairmen and the care of the van, while in the constituency, plus, of course, the payment of speakers' fares to and from the meeting. A supply of advertising is sent with the van, and where possible, an individual membership campaign is run in conjunction with the week's mission. Would that there were vans available for the country districts!

TWO NEW LABOUR LOCALS.

We have received a copy of the "Park and Heeley Gazette" which paper affords another instance of the possibilities of placing free journalism before the electors. It is a well-got-up production, and quite profusely illustrated. The Agent of the Park Division, Coun. E. G. Rowlinson, is to be congratulated on the paper, which we trust will make many other issues. We gather that a copy was distributed to each house in the Division—a total production of 15,000 copies.

The "Erimus" is the quaintly-named title of a new gratis monthly of the Middlesbrough Labour Party (East Division), No. 1 of which was issued in June. This modest production—a quarto fly—of which 10,000 copies are guaranteed delivery conveys a very good indication of the Party's activities, and there is a good deal of propagandist use in the paper. Judged from the number of advertisements the paper covers its cost.

CROWDED OUT.

We regret that our excerpt of legal points from the judgment in the Oxford Election Petition has been crowded out this month. The same will, however, appear next month, together with several of our usual features for which we have not room on this occasion.

LENDING LIBRARY FOR ELECTION AGENTS.

As announced in the "Labour Organiser" some time ago, the National Association of Labour Registration and Election Agents has been engaged in compiling a Lending Library of suitable books for the use of those Election Agents and Organisers, full or part time, who are members of the Association. The Library is now complete so far as present intentions go, and members of the Agents' Association are at liberty to apply for the loan of books. The General Secretary of the Agents' Association is Mr. H. Drinkwater, Editor of this journal, to whom application for books should be sent. Gifts to the Library will be welcomed.

The list of books available is as below.
 Arnold's Law of Municipal Corporations. Mackenzie and Hill.
 Law of Agency. Bowstead.
 The Local Government Act, 1894. Macmorran and Dill.
 The Law of Advertisements. Artemus Jones.

Labour Organiser, Vol. I, II & III.
 Guide to Representation of the People Act, 1918. Hobbs and Ogden.
 District Councils—Powers and Duties. Cornish.

Law of Libel and Slander. Fraser.
 The Guardians and District Councilors' Election Manual. Dill.
 Daly's Club Law. Malone.
 County Electors' Act, 1888. Lushington.

Blackwell's Law of Meetings. Glen.
 Wertheimer's Law Relating to Clubs. Chester.

The Law of Agency. Woodyatt.
 Saint's Registration Cases, 1843-1910. Mathew.

London Government Act, 1899. Macmorran, Lushington and Maldrett.
 Stone's Justices' Manual, 1924.

Return of 1922 Election Expenses. Production. George Belt.

Corrupt and Illegal Practices at Parliamentary Elections. Seager.

Woodings' Conduct and Management of Parliamentary Elections.

The Candidates' and Agents' Guide in Contested Elections. Richards.

Municipal Elections and How to Fight Them. Seymour Lloyd.

Elections and How to Fight Them. Seymour Lloyd.

Parliamentary Elections. Seager.
 Registration of Voters. Seager.

The Reform Act of 1918. Seager.

Handbook for the Conduct of Polls at Local Government Elections. Gillings.

Handbook for Presiding Officers and Poll Clerks at Parliamentary Elections. Gillings.

Sub-Agents' Guide. Oldman.

Practical Notes on the Management of Elections. Ellis Powell.

O'Malley and Hardcastle's Election Petitions (Berwick Petition.)

Municipal Corporations Act, 1882-1910. Law of Parliamentary Elections and Election Petitions. Fraser.

Representation of the People Acts, 1918-1921. Fraser.

Modern Electioneering Practice. Houston and Valdar.

Mackenzie and Lushington's Registration Manual. Lushington.

Parker's Election Agent and Returning Officer. Dowson.

Rogers on Elections, Vol. I. (Registration Appeals).

Rogers on Elections, Vol. II. (Election Petitions).

STATUTORY RULES AND ORDERS.

R.P. 128.

The new Statutory Order prescribing the new forms for registration claims referred to in our last issue has now been issued and is circulated as R.P. 128, obtainable through H.M. Stationers, at twopence nett. The code reference is Statutory Rules and Orders, 1924, No. 668. It should not, however, be necessary for Registration Agents to procure this order as, of course, the forms therein prescribed have now been published and supplied to Registration Officers and are in the hands of all concerned.

Recent circulars to Registration Officers of which Agents may have gleaned some knowledge, are none of them of public or practical importance to Registration Agents. They are mostly merely covering letters to copies of Army, Air or Fleet Orders, which latter convey to the service officers concerned the instructions now in force for registering naval and military voters; such papers have been sent for information only. Every effort appears to have been made by the authorities to circulate information as to the new procedure for absent voters and to make the course as simple and plain as possible.

REVIEWS.

"The Case Against Proportional Representation." By Herman Finer, D.Sc. (Econ.). Price 2d. The Fabian Society, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1.

The publication of this pamphlet is particularly well-timed and the "Case Against Proportional Representation" should have a good sale, particularly amongst the Agents and Secretaries of the Party, who presently will be called upon to bear the full brunt of the Liberal Party's discovery of the virtues of this form of electoral representation. Mr. Finer, who is a lecturer of the London School of Economics, discusses the subject in an eminently fair manner, and his critical analysis not only of the advantages and failings of proportional representation but of the advantages and failings of the present system, throws a learned and discerning light on several aspects of these questions that practical Election Agents have long desired to see discussed. The case for proportional representation has been abundantly argued, but the case against has been often permitted to go by default. It is probably true that there are very large numbers of people in our own Party who have accepted P.R. somewhat as an axiom of their creed and have not subjected it to the critical examination which other parts of the Party's policy have undergone. To such as these there is an awakening in the pamphlet; there is material also for others charged with a defence of our Party's policy. We heartily commend the little tract for immediate consideration.

"The Common Sense of Socialism." By Alban Gordon, B.Sc., F.C.S., Parliamentary Candidate for Brighton. Price 1/- . The Labour Publishing Co., Ltd. Foreword by Mr. W. W. Henderson, M.P.

Reading this little book we were forcibly reminded of "Merrie England" and "Britain for the British," and certain it is that no brighter or simpler or handier exposition of the Socialist creed has been written since those lusty days when Blatchford's two books, and his others, were crusaders' swords in the hand of the young eager ranks of Socialism. Brightly written, well attested, and well argued, this is just the cheap and handy propagandist

weapon that literature sellers are looking for, and during the remaining months of summer and the coming months of winter, literature stalls should be well stocked up. There are good sales to be made, and many converts to be reaped if this book is sold.

BEGINNING A BAZAAR.

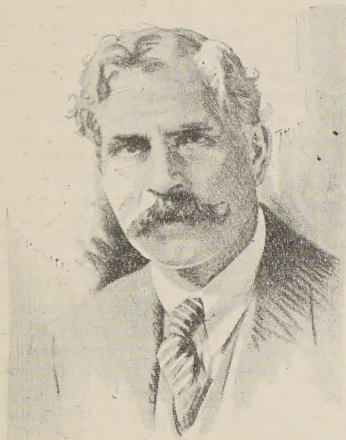
Said the Vicar: "We have tried all honest means of raising money, and failed. We are now going to have a Bazaar." Many Agents and Secretaries have quoted this ancient tag, without going seriously into the question of how to begin the Bazaar. Try this one. Take a fairly large hall, that is, large by comparison with the ordinary committee-meeting-room. Notify all your members in every conceivable way of the fact that you are going to have a social and concert, or whatever form of title you desire to use. Specially announce that there will be *No Collection*. Emphasise the fact that *Refreshments will be served free*.

The sheer novelty of a Labour gathering where refreshments are free and where there is to be no collection will attract a record audience.

Have your Labour M.P. in the chair, or the next best substitute. Appoint six of your best known members to act as M.C.'s. Their job is to introduce everybody to somebody, and, if possible, everybody. Thus you convey the feeling to everybody that they are somebody. When your entertainment is halfway through, have your Chairman announce the fact that the Agent wants a word about the Bazaar. The Agent begins by pointing out that refreshments will be served after he has finished. Then the Agent asks for *Two Things Only*. The first is, that he asks every person present to *Give One Article to the Bazaar*. The second is that he asks all persons present to *ask One Friend to do the same*.

Have slips prepared in advance, with room for the name and address of your patrons. Serve your refreshments and follow with the slips. They will be readily signed. None is so poor in goods or spirit as to refuse to give one article. And many there be who will give several articles. Such is the art of beginning a Bazaar. Incidentally the cost of the entertainment and the refreshments can be a first charge against the Bazaar accounts.

H. EASTWOOD.



Specimen of 20 in. by 30 in. Poster drawn from photo by Walter Scott, Bradford.

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AND COMPANY, LIMITED.

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Drawn from any good portrait photograph. We guarantee high-class work and a good likeness. Specimens and prices upon application.

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LABOUR AND ADVERTISING.

By GORDON HOSKING.

This is an advertising age. At a moderate estimate £100,000,000 is spent in advertising in this country every year. The fact that the greater amount of this vast expenditure is borne by the consumer is generally recognised, but it is not altogether correct to say that the burden is an entirely unrecognised charge upon industry. Advertising as a means of obtaining publicity for new ideas and commodities will always be necessary. Even under Socialism people will have to be told to "Keep to the Right."

The power of advertising lies in the fact that most people require continual guidance in the conduct of their lives and a printed or other form of public notice is one of the most suitable means of providing this guidance. Originally advertising was almost entirely of a commercial character, and was defined in many text-books as "printed salesmanship"; but this definition is no longer adequate, for of recent years a form of advertising which has little to

do with the selling of commodities has been developed extensively. For want of a better title we shall call it "Social Advertising," since it is concerned with arousing public interest in undertakings of a social character.

Commercial advertising aims at stimulating the sales of commodities for profit, and is almost entirely a product of the present competitive system. The more acute commercial competition becomes the greater is the volume of advertising. Advertising men have found that they can compel commercial firms to lay out large sums in advertising merely to prevent a rival from obtaining greater publicity than themselves. The only people who can hold out against this form of piracy are the monopolists, but even they are compelled to spend large sums of money on advertising in order to keep the field free from rivals. Commercial advertising can only be said to perform a useful and necessary function when it undertakes work of a social character, such as introducing the latest scientific methods and devices to the public or advising people to travel at convenient times of the day.

Social advertising comprises government notices, war loan advertisements, charity appeals, religious, temperance and philanthropic activity—such as “Johanna Southcote’s box” and prohibition, the adverts. of the London “Safety First” Council and the advertising of political parties. In this sense Labour propaganda, particularly printed propaganda, may be described as a form of advertising. Much social advertising is wasteful and under a better system of society would be unnecessary. Until that day arrives however, we must make sure that our propaganda is run on the best possible lines. Advertising is a science by itself and many voluminous tomes have been written on the subject, particularly in America. Elaborate and detailed experiments have been made to discover the best means of appealing to the public. Certain combinations of colours have been found to be most effective for publicity purposes. The amount of advertising necessary to obtain given results has been ascertained and tabulated. Many people hold that the results of these experiments are unreliable, and that all that an advertising man requires is a good general knowledge of publicity coupled with plenty of sound commonsense. Even so, advertising presents many problems which invite the attention of active minds. If some of our Labour workers were better acquainted with some of the fundamental principles of advertising we could look forward to a general improvement in propaganda work.

The most unfortunate feature of the problem, from the Labour standpoint, is the dependence of the press of the country upon its advertising revenue. Advertisers consequently often possess undue influence with the proprietors of newspapers, and are able to dictate points of policy. The annual advertisement revenue of the London Daily Press is about £13,000,000. It is difficult to imagine what would happen to Fleet Street if this source of revenue were suddenly withdrawn.

The difficulty of obtaining advertisement revenue is one of the most serious handicaps with which Labour papers have to contend. That the Labour Press has been boycotted by advertisers is partly true, but this is not the only reason for the lack of advertisements. Every new journal of small circulation has great difficulty in persuading adver-

tisers that its space is of value to them. Success in this direction depends largely upon the efforts made by the advertising staff.

The value of the Labour Press as an advertising medium would compare favourably with any other in the country, but hitherto we have not been able to reap the full benefit of it. One of the principal reasons for this is that the Labour papers are hopelessly understaffed from an advertising standpoint. Very few Labour papers possess an advertising staff at all and these are usually inadequate. To establish an efficient advertisement service requires considerable capital outlay, and the returns are never immediate. If Labour wishes to place its journals upon a sound financial basis it must do something to improve its advertising service.

The *Herald* and the big national weeklies are probably served as efficiently as the circumstances of the moment allow, but a great deal might be done to help the smaller journals to increase their advertisement revenue. These journals might band together to maintain a small advertising staff in London to canvass for advertisements on their behalf. At present their separate circulations are not large enough to be attractive to advertisers, but their aggregate circulation should be so. The technical problems of such an arrangement are not great and could be overcome with a little perseverance and forethought. The size of sheet and column would have to be standardised and the rates cut considerably in many cases; even so, the revenue thus made available would probably mean the difference between life and death to many struggling Labour journals.

Another great problem is that of personnel. At present the prospects of the Labour Press are not sufficiently good to attract advertisers. Those at present engaged in the work are mostly strong Labour sympathisers who are not afraid of making a few sacrifices for the cause, but their number is limited. However, we possess in many local T.U. secretaries the very type of man to make a successful advertising canvasser. These men should make a study of advertising and should be encouraged to canvass for advertisements for their local Labour papers on a commission basis. In time they could be taken on as full-time canvassers.

THE LABOUR PARTY

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The Badge has been issued in response to the desire of the Movement for an Emblem. The design was selected as a result of a National Competition.

THE BADGE

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See that all your members are supplied.

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*The best propaganda book since
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"Just the sort of book to put in the hands of electors. Of constant help to candidates, organisers and active workers.

W. W. Henderson, M.P.

Post free 1/1 from the Author
23 Compton Avenue, Brighton.

*(Special terms for 6 copies and over
to Literary Secretaries and others)*

REGISTRATION.

By H. EASTWOOD, Labour Agent,
Bolton, Lancs.

From now to August 11th, 1924, Labour Agents and Secretaries will be busily occupied in the preparation and presentation of claims for votes. Registration is really one of the most important duties of an Organiser. Upon success or otherwise depends possibly, the amount of electoral success, and also the extent to which organisation may follow. The up-to-date Registration Agent will have prepared his list of claimants, as far as possible, immediately prior to the end of the qualifying period. This list should be sent in, in duplicate, to the Overseer or to the Registration Officer, as soon as possible after the end of the period. A copy should be retained, and the officer receiving the duplicate lists will usually return one list, showing which claims have been accepted and which have not.

In this way the filling in of many forms is not necessary and such work is postponed until the return of the list from the officer concerned. In the

meantime, Ward Secretaries, Club Secretaries, Trade Union Secretaries, and all individual members of the Party will have been circularised bespeaking their assistance in the collection and collation of claims. These should be forwarded for future reference as potential members. It is best that all claimants should sign their own forms, and on certain days or evenings before the last day for receiving claims, the office should be set apart for this purpose exclusively. In this connection the work should be eased on this occasion because of certain reforms that the Labour Government has brought about.

R.P. 16 to R.P. 23B, and all the forms between, have now been abolished. In their place we find R.P. 126 (white) for men, and R.P. 127 (pink) for women. These two forms take the place of the previous nine. The work of the Registration Agent is easier in consequence, and he will mentally register his thanks. But, in many cases, there are persons who are never able to call at the office. In that event, it is better not to send the actual form for signature, but to send a simple circular asking for necessary details. On receipt of these they can be transferred to the form, and the Agent can then claim on their behalf, always retaining the circular as evidence of the authenticity of the information given.

When the time comes to attend the Registration Court, the Agent should be prepared to turn up the Acts in support of any point that he may desire to make. Most Registration Officers are more keen on quoting a precedent than making one, but there is always the chance of the officer doing the latter if a good reason can be urged. As an instance: most officers refuse to admit the right to a Local Government vote on the part of a woman who occupies a room, which she furnishes herself, in the house of another, unless she has the exclusive use of the room. Exclusive use is usually interpreted as meaning "use by self alone." Recently I was able to secure votes for several persons who permitted others to sleep in the same room, not being husbands or wives, such as a woman allowing her sister to sleep with her; the justification being that the claimant for the vote could turn them out when desired.

There are still quite a number of districts where the Registration Courts are held during the day. If this is

strictly adhered to it means hardship to working folk. They must, in many cases, either lose money as a result of getting off work, or lose their vote by virtue of non-attendance. The officer is not compelled to arrange evening sittings, but, as a rule, this arrangement can be made by a little tactful discussion in advance. The method found to be most acceptable in practice is as follows:—Assuming that the Court is held on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday during the day, any case not heard on Tuesday is heard on the evening of Wednesday, any case not heard on Wednesday is heard on the evening of Thursday, and so on. The Registration Officer is not compelled to notify the persons concerned that they are at liberty to attend the following evening. The Agent should do this. A number of post cards should be printed or written in advance, save, of course, for the addresses. At the end of each Court, those who have not attended should be written notifying them of the time of the evening Court the following evening. If this is done many voters are secured that would otherwise go by the board.

After the Courts are over, all names submitted for votes should be filed. Successful claims should be specially noted for ward purposes. At election times a special canvasser should visit these persons to make sure that all who have claimed a vote through the Labour Agent also vote for the Labour candidate. Unsuccessful claims should be filed in ward order, and a note made of the reason why the vote was not secured. If possible, the matter should be remedied and the claim submitted once more. The claimant should be seen, and the matter discussed, with a view to advising as to any adjustments that may be necessary.

If, after an election, there appears to be a number of persons who are entitled to be on the register, but who are not, a quiet word to those in charge of the district survey will ensure a special visit to indicated areas, in many cases obviating the need for any further action. Many claimants only remember that they want a vote on the last day for claims being made. The last day for claims finishes at 12 midnight. If claims presented after the ordinary office is closed are handed in to the Police Office, and a receipt for delivery secured, they are adjudged as having

been received. Even this suggestion has been known to save many votes.

And some day a Labour Government will give votes to men and women, and not to houses, premises, land, or rooms. Universal suffrage would perceptibly retard the "thinning of the thatch." Until that day, the work of registration is vital and fundamental.

NEW AGENCY APPOINTMENTS.

Mr. Frank Organ, late of Maidstone, has been appointed to the vacant Agency in the Wrekin Division of Shropshire, and has now taken up duties Address, Labour Party Offices, Station Road, Wellington, Salop.

Mr. Russell H. R. Davey, late Agent at Saffron Walden, has been appointed Agent to the South-East Essex Divisional Labour Party, and has now commenced duties. Address, Labour Hall, Orsett Road, Grays, Essex.

Mr. George Morris, of Ebbw Vale, has been appointed Agent in the King's Norton Division of Birmingham, and has now commenced duties. Temporary address, 190, Bristol Road, Birmingham.

Volume III. (1923) OF The Labour Organiser

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of our 1923 issue are
still on hand.

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**THE SAFEST & SOUNDEST
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Editor-Manager :
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TIPS FOR OUTDOOR MEETINGS.

Probably we are not alone when we confess to missing the old familiar form and pages of the *Labour Leader*, whose pioneer place it is impossible for its vigorous successor to occupy. Hunting an old file recently we came across the following tips for open-air meetings which will be found timely in the present month :—

Organisations which mean to conduct summer sessions do not wait until June to start their campaign, but it is not until this month that things really get in full swing, and those groups gathered at street corners or on vacant pieces of ground begin to be more frequently seen. The groups may be meetings of evangelistic bodies, of the Economic League, the 'Taxpayers' Union, the I.L.P., or any other of the numerous organisations scattered throughout the length and breadth of the country. No matter what the body is, or what views they may desire to propagate, the conditions for each are in many respects similar.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE AUDIENCE.

Several things should be borne in mind by organisers of open-air meetings. Some of them will no doubt seem very obvious, but they are, nevertheless, often neglected, and though at first they may appear trivial, experience has shown them to have an influence on an audience. A speaker will probably one day write a treatise on the Psychology of the Open-air Audience (as a writer has published a Psychology of the Crowd), and it should make interesting reading.

Most I.L.P. branches like to send about half a dozen staunch members to support the principals at an open-air meeting. A common tendency, and a quite natural one, is for those members to get into a group behind the rostrum and so stand aloof from the audience. This is quite evidently wrong, but still it is done at every second meeting, and it certainly unconsciously creates a bad impression. Then failure to display the name of the speaker is a common error; if you have ever listened to a debate in the Commons you know what it feels like not to know the names of the different participants. An audience feels likewise.

These, however, are things of the kind which commonsense sooner or

later dictates to one, but few organisers consider the literature question in relation to an audience. Frequently one or two men march round the ring crying their wares in a monotonous voice. Even provided they do not sometimes make it impossible for the speaker to be heard, they annoy by their very movements and divert attention from the rostrum. The same applies to distributing free pamphlets; the distributors should not go in and out of the ring. The proper place to sell and distribute literature is at a short distance from the speaker, and only those leaving the ring should be approached. Give the arrangement a trial; the sales won't go down.

DRAWING THE CROWD.

Possibly the thought has arisen that though it may be quite all right to talk about those little things in the treatment of an audience—what about getting the audience? There is always a certain proportion of people who are uncertain what to do with their time. The mere sight of a group acts on them as a magnet acts on steel, and they will stroll over to see "what's doing." That portion is the legitimate "prey" of every open-air speaker. But it is curiosity and a desire to pass the time pleasantly that has drawn them round the rostrum, and the same combination will draw them away again unless the fare provided is sufficiently attractive, not only to interest them, but to temporarily deaden their curiosity regarding what lies round the corner or up the road. To deaden curiosity, even if it is only for a short time, is a task that takes "a lot of doing." The fact that it takes so much doing is evidenced by the number of people who leave an open-air meeting after listening for only a few minutes.

An open-air audience cannot take—nor can it be expected to take—the same "fire" as an audience under cover. The conditions are entirely different. In the latter case, the crowd has come to listen to speeches centred round a subject previously announced, and they are seated; the open-air audience has to be enticed, and it has to stand. Under those circumstances the policy of one speaker occupying the rostrum at an open-air meeting for a long time at a stretch should not be encouraged.

(Continued on Page 20)

THE ORGANISATION OF PROPAGANDA.

A NEW SERIES OF ARTICLES BY THE EDITOR.

(ARTICLE I).

It is an unfortunate fact that propaganda is very often referred to as an alternative to organisation. The presumption is made that one may secure the same end by one of two courses, i.e., that of organisation or that of propaganda, and the inference is that one may organise without propaganda, or, at any rate, conduct propaganda without organisation. All these views are wrong. My own firm conviction is that the two matters are inseparable: that one cannot organise without propaganda, and that one cannot successfully propagate without organisation.

Propaganda is a very wide phrase. It consists not merely of spouting at the street corner. Indeed, I have heard some of our street corner comrades who were certainly not doing propaganda, but succeeding very well in accomplishing the reverse thing. In these articles I propose to review each phase of propagandist work, and at the commencement it may be well to set down some of the many forms which propaganda takes.

In the first place we have meetings, and many forms of these, i.e., indoor meetings, outdoor meetings, public meetings, private meetings, invitation meetings, cottage meetings, and so forth. Literature comes next, including the press, the publication of books, pamphlets, leaflets, posters, etc. In respect to most of which there are various methods of use for propaganda purposes. Propaganda may also be undertaken by advertising; through the cinema, by Labour churches, and similar institutions. Propaganda can be done by canvassing, mass canvassing, through the post, or again by and through the actions of elected persons. Propaganda by social effort is yet another form, and last there may be propaganda, which for want of a better phrase we will call propaganda by induction; and deal with at a later stage.

To take meetings first: we may say of them that in the past meetings have probably accomplished most for the Labour Party, and have been the most frequent and sustained method by which we have accomplished the con-

version of such a huge section of the electorate. Meetings will continue to be of vital and first-rate importance to our political well-being, but I do not think that in the future they will continue to occupy the same foremost place in our work as in the past. We have at last got a Labour Press and it is going to stop, while the literary output of the Labour publishing houses is increasing and will increase to the great propagandist advantage of our Party. The tendency of the modern elector is to read and examine. Perhaps presently he will listen in—but sufficient until the day is the evil thereof.

Indoor meetings will take precedence in our examination, merely because the organisation requires greater attention.

If I had to choose between the policy of the occasional big meeting and that of the periodic smaller meeting, I think I should plump for the latter every time. I believe in the wearing down process, and it is the number of smaller meetings which really touch the most folk and find the new blood. The occasional big meeting with a star speaker of course serves its purpose; besides attracting the electors who will attend no other, there is an advertising value which reacts on those who may not even attend the demonstration at all. But there is a tendency in some places, which in the past have been successful in attracting big speakers, to become surfeited, and there are towns where no second-class meeting can be held because of this fact. What happens is that the converted attend to hear every star who is advertised. The meetings are packed with a converted approving audience and in effect do not accomplish the amount of good they might. Particularly is this the case in divided boroughs where sometimes there is a strong tendency to organise a big successful central demonstration instead of taking speakers into the divisions where the unconverted are to be reached.

The problem of halls is, of course, no light one, but the expectations of an audience are naturally less in the localities than in the centres, and this contributes to a solution of the problem. Generally speaking it is easier to arrange for a regular series of smaller meetings in local places than to fit occasional dates in with big halls in the centre. In very few places indeed are constituencies well blessed in both directions. In the large majority of cases halls are

uncomfortable, and there is some inconvenience both to the organisers and the audience.

In this matter then, I think it is up to the organisers to surmount the difficulties. Halls can be and should be made more homely and attractive than they are, and this is especially needful if one proposes to hold a series of meetings and attract full audiences every time. Where schoolrooms are hired, in modern towns at any rate, they are usually lofty, glassy structures, without any air of comfort, and with not a few distractions. The seating too is usually bad, and on the whole they are the worst kind of hall to transform into the warm and comfortable meeting-room that one desires either for a large or small meeting. In some places there is no platform, and this should be the first thought, as the possession of same at once gives the speaker a better command over his audience. It also gives something that can be decorated and tends to centre the attention.

I much favour the decking of platforms, not solely with "Daily Herald" bills and the more or less arty posters of other Labour publications, but with a due regard to the esthetic feelings of those on whom typographical gaudiness palls. Flowers and ladies improve a platform. So let it be!

There is much in the conduct of a meeting which decides whether or no we are to get full propagandist value from it, and it must be clearly understood that propaganda value is *not* confined to what the speaker says. There is propaganda value even in the decorations. It is the impression which a person receives and takes away with him that often determines his whole attitude to the speakers' remarks. The meeting that begins to time and is efficiently and brightly conducted favourably impresses the average person quite apart from the speeches. This impression is worth cultivating. Begin then with a prompt start; if the meeting is a big one and the audience are "loosed in" some time before the commencement, brighten up the waiting time with music or other entertainment; strictly adhere to a time-table for speakers and keep a strong hold on the fool who gets up as the audience are dispersing and asks them to sit down again while he mentions something which he fancies has been forgotten.

The full propaganda value of a meet-

ing is not obtained unless literature is sold or distributed, driving home the points of the speeches; but I shall refer to this matter again.

Propaganda does *not* begin as the chairman gracefully rises to open their proceedings. It *should* have begun with the first announcement of the meeting. Never forget that the advertisements of a meeting afford a magnificent opportunity for advertising—not alone the meeting—but the Party as well. Indeed this portion of the business may easily be the most effective.

I do not mean that we should burden our posters and handbills with epitomes of our policy and principles, or publish on the printing a portion either of our catechism or our creed. But good, effective printing is itself a weapon in propaganda which favourably impresses the casual person. It is often possible to use a tag or a watchword or some other timely line which suggests something of the Party's work and views. Thousands may see these things who do not attend the meeting, and some at least are impressed by the fact that the Labour Party takes this or that line or are engaged in this or that.

Occasionally one may step out from the orthodox way and indulge in a little advertising on more elaborate lines, with more pointed propaganda. I have seen quite good little novelties occasionally used which certainly had a good propaganda value.

It is sometimes claimed that there is propaganda value in securing press reports of our meetings. Perhaps there is—if one could be sure of accurate and honest reports; but I am such an inveterate enemy of the press that, perhaps, I may be excused for saying that it is a jolly long time since I saw such a report of any Labour meeting. I rather doubt the capacity of present-day pressmen to secure an honest report. Mutilation, distortion and misleading quotations are the stock-in-trade of our enemy's weapon, i.e., the national and local press, and it is an exceptional thing to get a report which is even passably fair. If there is one thing in the world that I despise it is that row of wooden-headed wielders of wooden pencils occupying the front row at public meetings, for these are the legion whose dirty work it is to belie or to belaud according to whether the speaker is of the same opinion of their masters or no. So much of modern

journalism and modern reporting is venomous and lying work that I have no patience for their trade, and no respect for those engaged in it. They are either all saliva or all spleen; there is no health in them. These, of course, are just my own sentiments. My readers may not like them, and, if so, by all means they may try a sample of latter-day reporting and see how it works.

I have so far dealt only with the ordinary public meeting or demonstration, but assuming one has the right sort of speakers there are several other kinds of meetings through which propaganda is done. The invitation meeting is normally a meeting for those of a particular class or calling, or for people with some special interest or disposition. Mr. Sidney Webb speaks of stratified electioneering, and invitation meetings are the method par excellence by which one attacks the stratas and interests particular sections of the electorate. In all such meetings the speaker must be very carefully chosen. Generally speaking there is a middle-class touch about the affair, but there is no need to waste money on too elaborate printing or too expensive halls.

Invitation meetings sent fairly broadcast from the register are on a somewhat different line, and this method has proved successful in the organisation of Women's Sections. Here again, to get the full propaganda value the speaker must be well chosen. Follow-up methods should also be adopted.

This brings us to cottage meetings, and I hardly think that as a Party we have yet made the most of this line of propaganda. On the country side in particular the last two or three years has seen a very considerable increase in the teas and parties and invitation "At Homes" given by Tory dames to the villagers and working-class women generally. Our opponents' ladies are, undoubtedly, imbued with the idea that it is cheaper to give away a few dozen cups of tea and a few pounds of slab, than to pay the Capital Levy, and so these recherche little functions are quite on the increase. The Labour answer should be the cottage meeting. Here the speaker need not be so carefully chosen for his or her expressions. Homeliness, honesty and conviction will count, and women will talk as they will, and in their own way. There is a power of influence in such meetings, and they should certainly be fostered.

(To be continued.)

THE REGISTER.

ITS RELATION TO MAPS AND THE STREET INDEX.

By ED. J. ALFORD, Millicroft, Norden, Rochdale.

The fundamental basis of our election work is the register, and every device that can be brought into being to simplify election day work should be carefully considered and, as far as possible, carried out in preparation.

In previous articles I have shown how section maps can be prepared and a street index constructed. In this article I purpose to show how these things can be made to materially assist us when the day arrives.

Presuming that your maps are ready, the polling district register should be marked up to correspond by writing the section number under the street heading close to the street numbers. For preference, this should be done in a bound copy of the complete register and, for this purpose, it is not necessary that the register should be the one in force. The marked copy may last for two or three years before a new one becomes a necessity. When a street appears in more than one section, a line should be ruled right across the page between the sections and the street name and section number re-written immediately below the line.

In addressing envelopes, I find the best policy is to remove the stitching from a register printed on one side only, and give one page to each worker; when the page is complete the page and envelopes are rubber-banded together, the page so folded as to show the page number at a glance. These bundles are then transferred to the checkers, where the order, if reversed or mixed, is put right and the envelopes banded up in 250's or 500's, and put away in numerical and street alphabetical order, to be later filed, still keeping strictly to register number order. Remember to put a X at the end of the last number of a polling district, thus:—2387 X. The register itself has nothing to indicate the final number in a polling district, and I have, from 1921 onwards, induced the authorities in Rochdale to print the word END under the final number of each polling district.

When these are to be delivered by hand, the section-marked copy of the register is used, and it is then only a few minutes work to sort the envelopes into sections. Nos. 1 to 42 may be section

5 ; Nos. 43 to 54 section 3 ; Nos. 55 to 180 section 1, and so on. These are still kept in numerical order, the lowest number on the top, and the sections are then in alphabetical street order, and may be banded up in streets before sending your distributors out with them.

The used pages of the register are replaced in numerical order in a bulldog clip.

Before the writing up is commenced, if a local government election, all names of those who are parliamentary voters only should be ruled out in blue pencil or in the case of a parliamentary election the names of those who have the local government franchise only should be similarly ruled out.

Workers should be definitely instructed NOT TO MARK THE REGISTER in any way. It is most important that this should not be done, as the same copy is then available for canvass cards, if the register itself is pasted up for this purpose.

In the preparation of these canvass cards, the register to be used is first marked off in sections to correspond with your key copy, and then cut up with scissors or a safety razor blade into those sections. Cards of a uniform size should be used, the best size being 5 by $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches, but before cutting up, the numbered edge of the register should be trimmed to $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch from the polling district figures, and the other side cut off to a width of not more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches over all.

A quick and easy way to paste these up is to paste the bottom of an upturned dripping tin, and draw the slips across this before fixing to the cards. (Incidentally, I might mention at this stage that a small piece of sponge tightly wedged as a cork in a small ink bottle half full of water is a splendid quick moistener for the flaps of envelopes to be sealed down.)

The canvass cards should follow one another in numerical register order, irrespective of the addresses, as sections, being small self-contained areas, all places in a section are fairly near to one another, and this saves a great deal of time in hunting up particular cards later on, numerical order being strict alphabetical order. It is not necessary to completely fill the cards—each card should be as self-contained as possible, and where a street overlaps from one card to another, care must be taken

to fill in the name of the street again at the top of the second card. Cards should be numbered with the polling district letter, the section number, and the canvass card letter thus :—S 3 B, B 2 H, and so on, and the last card in each section to bear the final X thus :—R 4 F X.

These canvass cards can be very effectively used in connection with distribution as a big aid to a complete canvass. Your distributors are instructed to deliver the addressed matter (say the election address) by knocking at the door, and handing it in saying : " With the compliments of Mr. — the Labour Candidate " and awaiting results. Many of our own supporters will then volunteer the information that they are Labour supporters, and the canvass card can then be straightway marked up. This can be followed up later, preferably by the same person, by again knocking at the door saying : " I left you Mr. —, the Labour Candidate's election address yesterday. I expect you have read it and should be glad to know that you support the views there expressed."

The street index, together with a complete copy of the register in force, preferably bound, should be specially available for taking records of inquiries regarding votes. If a bound copy is used, should-be voters' names and details can be written up in the register margin, or if taken separately, should be written on small tear-off pads of uniform size, and one name only to a page, each page having the letter of the polling district to which it refers, written in block capitals on the top right-hand corner. These can then be readily sorted in polling district and street order after the election is over and the next registration period arrives.

Bound copies of the register should be held firmly closed and the polling district letters indexed on the edges of the leaves. A register can be opened to a page or two at the desired place, after consulting the street index to obtain the polling district letter.

These articles are skeleton sketches, that I trust will be useful to the experienced and inexperienced agent. Every one of us can teach something, and we are all the gainers by exchanging experiences. I should welcome details of improvements and be glad to answer any inquiries.

FORMS AND PRECEDENTS

A popular feature of the "Labour Organiser" in the past has been the reproduction from time to time of forms used by successful local parties

and organisers in the conduct of their work. We have pleasure in producing a further selection in this issue.

NOTICE TO ELECTORS

The Ballot is secret and no official or any other person knows how or where an elector marks his X on the Ballot Paper.

CAUTION

Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883.

Any person who interferes with the voting of an elector or who unduly influences an elector to vote or not to vote for any particular candidate by any threats of harm, damage, or restraint, is liable to 12 months' imprisonment or a fine of £200. The withdrawal of custom or a threat to do so comes within this prohibition. A threat to evict a tenant or to discharge an employee is undue influence.

Printed by the Lewes Press, Ltd., High Street, Lewes, and published by H. Croft, Greenwall House, Eastgate, Lewes.

The above warning, printed on official blue, served a useful purpose in the Lewes election. The slip below

is an effective means for reaping a rich harvest at election public meetings.

WEST BIRMINGHAM ELECTION

Will YOU help Labour to Win?

If you will, please sign this slip and hand it to one of the workers at this meeting.

Name

Address

CENTRAL COMMITTEE ROOMS,
265, ICKNIELD STREET, HOCKLEY.

Printed by Packham & Co., 146, Hockley Hill, & Published by Geo. Horwill,
265, Icknield St., Birmingham.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS.

CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES WHICH VOID AN ELECTION

I	2	3	4	5
Corrupt Practices. by Can. or Agent (S.S. 4, 5, 6.)	Illegal Practices by Can. or Agent (S. II.)	Illegal Practices by Can. or Election Agent.	Employment of Corrupt Agent by Candidate. (Act 1868, S. 4.)	General Corruption by Whomsoever Committed.
F	G	H	X	Y
Paying for Conveyance of Voters to Poll. (S. 7.)	Paying Election Expenses, Except Through Election Agent. (S. 28.)	Paying for Excess Committee Rooms. (S. 7.)	General Bribery.	General Treating. (COMMON LAW)
A	B	C	D	E
Bribery.	Treating.	Undue Influence.	Personation or Aiding or Abetting Same.	False Declaration. (S. 33.)
J	K	L	M	N
Incurring Expenses in Excess of Maximum. (S. 8.)	Voting When Prohibited or Inducing Others to do so. (S. 9.)	Publishing False Statement of Withdrawal of a Candidate. (S. 9.)	Providing Money for Prohibited Payment or for Payment in Excess. (S. 13.)	Letting, Lending, Employing Hackney Carriage for Conveying Voters. (S. 14.)
O	P	Q	R	S
Corrupt Arrange- ment to Secure Withdrawal of a Candidate. (S. 15.)	Payments on Account and Paying Persons in Torches, Flags, Banners, etc. (S. 16.)	Employing Publishing Bill or Placard Without Printer's Name. (S. 18.)	Using Prohibited Place as Committee Room. (S. 20.)	Paying Barred Election Expense. (S. 29.)
T	U	V	W	X
Paying Election Expense After Time. (S. 29.)	Failing to Make Election Return in Time. (S. 33.)			

We are indebted to Mr. Standing,
District Organiser The Labour Party for
the above form which was published some
years ago. It will be noticed that the
genealogical tree omits the R.P. 1918
additions to Corrupt Practices but it is
otherwise a useful form.

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THE LETTERS & FIGURES IN BRACKET'S REFER TO THE APPROPRIATE SECTIONS OF THE "CORRUPT & ILLEGAL PRACTICES ACT, 1883."

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Individual Membership No.

Name
Address
Ward

This Counterfoil, with Cash, to be
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T. T. ANDREWS,
73 Bailey Street, Ton Pentre.

RHONDDA BOROUGH LABOUR PARTY.
 RHONDDA EAST DIVISIONAL LABOUR
 PARTY.

INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP CARD.

Year 192.....	No.....								
<table border="0"> <tr> <td><i>Name</i></td> <td><i>Organising Secretary :</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>P. GWYN HUGHES, 32 Brynhyfryd, Tylorstown.</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td><i>Divisional Secretary :</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>T. LLEWELLYN, "Sunnybank," Aldergrove Road, Porth.</td> </tr> </table>		<i>Name</i>	<i>Organising Secretary :</i>	P. GWYN HUGHES, 32 Brynhyfryd, Tylorstown.			<i>Divisional Secretary :</i>		T. LLEWELLYN, "Sunnybank," Aldergrove Road, Porth.
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POLLING DAY STAFF

Private and Confidential.

Parliamentary Election, 1922.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE ROOMS,
37, BERNARD ROAD,
CROMER.

NOVEMBER 9TH, 1922.

Dear Sir,

Kindly fill up and return to me the annexed
sheet by Saturday, the 11th instant, without fail.
Please note that a separate Form is sent herewith
for each Polling Station.

Yours truly,

S. J. GEE,
Election Agent.

Printed by Miller, Son & Co., Fakenham. Published by S. J. Gee,
37, Bernard Road, Cromer.

POLLING DAY STAFF

Polling Booth for..... District

To be filled up and signed by the Sub-Agent (or Clerk in Charge) and sent to Central Committee Room.

1. Name and Address of Personation Agent.
2. Names of Checkers outside Polling Booth door.
3. Names of Voluntary Messengers to go from Check Clerk to District Committee Room
4. What number of reliable persons for this District have you to fetch Voters?
5. Have you any Cyclists available?
6. Name of person in charge of conveyances on Polling Day.
7. Name of Committee Room Clerk for Polling Day.
8. State where your Committee Room will be on Polling Day

(Signed).....
Sub-Agent or Clerk in Charge.

Date.....1922

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Manchester

(Continued from page 10)

Let him mount it as many times as he cares, but put up a man, no matter how short the duration of his speech to give the audience the pleasurable sensation of a change.

The man, who, in a hall, ranges over a number of subjects is not generally much wanted, but in the open air he is ideal. In a hall one wants to exhaust subjects as much as possible ; at the street corner to simply prick them, so that the newcomers will not have to stand with puckered brows wondering when they will pick up the thread of the speech.

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of the**

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of Labour Registration
and Election Agents?**

(Acts as the Trade Union
for Labour Organisers)



General Secretary : H. DRINKWATER,
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